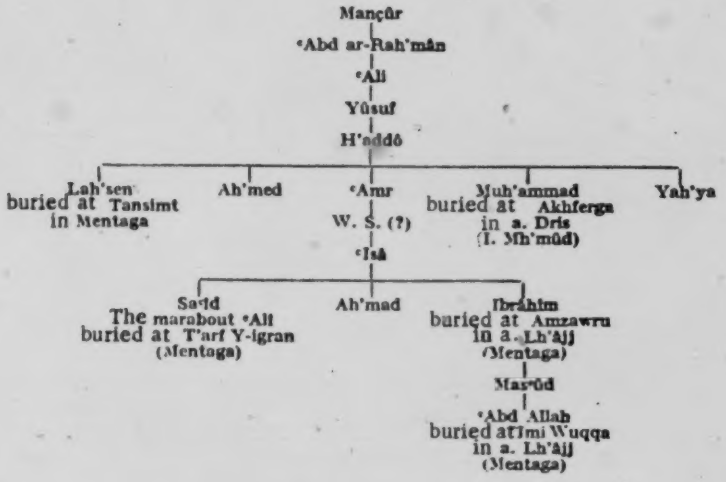
/300 cont./

175 not mentioned), and, by foyer, on the first day of the Fast, the
776 contribution of a dish of porridge duly garnished with fat; "who-
794 ever eats of it, the h'arâm will melt in his body like salt in
428 viands."

There it is, to the life, one of these imposed, and undoubtedly argued, chchard' stipulations, which so often form the point of departure of the saints' benefices. One should note also the archaism of the testimonial procedure (in this case, it is a matter of a sort of testimony by turbs, anterior or foreign to the Adular /fr. adoulaire/ instrumentation and at the same time to the organized lafîf). Finally, the simplicity of the details on the purifying banquet does not lack vigor.

175 A genealogy follows, intended undoubtedly to determine the
428 rightful claimants. Here it is.
601
602
776



175 428 602 776

/301/ This ᶜAbd Allah died in an ambush of the Zenaga, whom his curse immediately scatters and exterminates. He left as heir his cousin ᶜAlî b. Saᶜîd, whom this mention undoubtedly identifies with the author of the exception pleadings. Whatever the authenticity of the act may be, it offers the interest of constituting hagiological liaison with the South face of the Atlas and the groups such as Mentaga, I. Mh'mud, today detached from the Seksawa, but whom the Almohade documents align with them in the Genfisa unit, whatever this unit may have been. It will be equally interesting to compare this genealogy with the one that the following documents indicate.

175 127

2) If, taking into account the general remarks that have been made concerning the historicity of this type of document, the waṣiyya of ᶜAmr originates in a past hardly placeable, but certainly very ancient, the two acts whose analysis is here now go back only, but more authentically, to our sixteenth century, a period of intense religious fermentation in the Sous, and even in the part of the Atlas that had to submit to the repercussions of the Saādian thrust, resisting it more than participating in it.

175 602 428 776

Here is first of all a document dated 999 Heg.: 1591. The first part is anecdotal and concerns the Almoravides, to whom, in spite of all the chronological possibilities, Yûsef, the father of ᶜAmr, is attached. This anachronism, probably older than the sixteenth century, has already been pointed out. In this way, the genealogist goes back to Quraych, starting from a Saᶜîd who descended, on the twelfth generation, from ᶜAmr. Let us note that the lapse of three centuries thus indicated would carry back, for the ancestor, to the end of the thirteenth century, which corresponds roughly to Khaldûnian chronology. Let us note also that the attachment to the saint, which is made by an ᶜAbd Allah, does not coincide with the genealogy given above. But this ᶜAbd Allah, who is perhaps the historical personage contemporaneous with Lalla Aziza and Ibn Qunfûdh, has a name that appears often in these genealogies. Not always in the same place: sometimes as son, sometimes as only great-grandson, but not without this repetition offering, in a matter so conjectural, some element of stability. Likewise a T'alh'a is mentioned here as a descendant on

/301 cont./

175 602 428 776 the fourth generation. This name also appears in other documents. And the a. D'alh'a, still represented, are given by oral tradition as the only direct descendants of the ancestor in Haut Seksawa. The coincidence is at least singular.

In extremely obscure terms, the genealogist makes a sort of restatement of the rightful claimants of the benefice. These restatements had to be frequent, since they were reflecting competition between heirs. According to our document: "There are the sons of the Arab woman among the Awlâd Tah'jamt (?); they are the sons of the Berbère /Berber/ woman (ᶜajâmiyya). As for the Awlâd Sidi Yah'yâ b. Fâris, they are the sons of Yah'ya b. H'addô. As for Buzîd, the succession does not count him among the rightful claimants. As for the Awlâd Yûsef b. H'addô b. s. Abî Bakr, ᶜAbd Allah integrated them among his own. As for [567] slavery, he integrated it for a third. As for the sons of Sulaymân b. ᶜAmr, they emigrated."

Such a classification reflects a syncretism effected between different /302/ branches, different stages, or even different origins of the line of ᶜAmer u H'addô. The author of this syncretism might be ᶜAbd Allah, the contemporary of Lalla Aziza. [567] Let us note in passing an interesting distinction between Arab or Berbère /Berber/ mothers, and the mention of slaves or servants among the beneficiaries, according to a process, which, in the present case of Z'init', has resulted in making them the only rightful claimants. Let us finally note the names of Yah'ya and Sulaymân, historical personages who are precisely those whose tombs are still shown today.

3) Here is an act from the seventeenth century. It presents the peculiarity of having a known signatory, sidi l-H'asân b. Muh'ammad, ancestor of the line of the marabouts of Assttif, and whose signature is rather frequently displayed on old Seksawa papers. The act is from 1086 Heg.: 1675. He too makes a restatement of the beneficiaries of his time, at the same time that he justifies this position by their connection to one Mah'ammad, fifth descendant of ᶜAbd Allah b. ᶜAmr. At this time there are six parts coming, not to individuals, but to families designated

/302 cont./

175 602 428 776 by ait. The names of these families are: Abû'l-ᶜArûf, Ulwâh', Mbârek, ᶜAbd as-Salâm, Saᶜîd u H'sayn, Mbârk u Belgâsem. No other remark is to be made concerning the dispersion of the line, thus confirmed from the seventeenth century, and which must have ended in a total effacement, since today only the guardians of the tomb claim the benefice, but as foqra and not as descendants. [613] Nevertheless, it is necessary to note that one of their ikhs bears the interesting name of a. Iz'm, "people of the Lion," and it is known that this surname is attested to historically in the chronicle of the kings of the fourteenth century.

4) Other old Seksawa acts concern the history of the ensemble of the populations of the high valley rather than simply that of the saint. Thus, a ṣṣadaqa of 976 Heg.: 1569, a genealogy of the a. D'alh'a of 1144 Heg.: 1732, and a genealogy of the a. Umgan, an ancient population vanished today, but claiming in this act of 1244 Heg.: 1828 an ancestry of ᶜAmr, again through ᶜAbd Allah, and which offers the curious likelihood that the lapse of twenty generations that is detailed there name by name indeed takes us back, it too, to the fourteenth century.

776 [175] [602] The conclusion to be drawn from these documents is that they postulate, certainly not an attested filiation from the royal personages of the Middle Ages up to our day, but a belief in this filiation. From our point of view, this comes to almost the same thing. Nevertheless, the cult that they authorize is neither that of an ancestor nor that of a hero. Significant thing. In spite of his liaison with the Eponym, it is as a mediocre saint, for whom it seemed necessary to recreate a legend of early epoch, that Sidi ᶜAmer very indifferently survives. This is so true that in the course of the ages periodical reclassifications seem to have intervened, bringing to light a list of rightful claimants more and more full and indistinct, until it finally disappeared as a consequence of its own super- /303/ abundance or the forgetfulness of the faithful. Thus are fixed, at chronologically identifiable stages of the tradition, some names, among which the one of a certain ᶜAbd Allah stands out, and some places where one finds mention of the principal groups of the circum-Tichka ensemble, this true cadre of our story.

[Ait Lh'sen]

695 /331 cont./
784 The oaths, they say, are so dangerous that it is forbidden to
778 take them in certain particularly efficacious places. Such as the timezgida of Awines, the one of Tifesfas, the one of Iguntar, the
[821] sanctuary of Sidi Musa. The latter punished the perjurer, and his whole canton along with him, by a devastating storm. He is irritable. It suffices if some vindictive woman comes to scratch the soil of his tomb for him to unleash the wind. It would be necessary to surround this tomb with an enclosure opening with a key, without which we would remain exposed to these dangers. At Iguntar[no one dares to take an oath at the mosque. One goes to do it on minor, unknown Regraga saints, on the side of the agadir. The timezgida of Tifesfas, which one day rose from the soil completely built, caused twelve coswearers and their twelve adversaries to perish for false oaths: that for an affair of twelve dinars. Families that lightly wasted their cojuratio have been punished by perpetual mediocrity; thus the ait Bella of Ighilan. They one day dared to affirm against the a. Barka, descendants however of Sidi Musa, and by this title formidable, that they themselves had planted the contested olive trees; but they had been content to cut off suckers that they thrust into the soil. But the a. Barka, thanks to the help of their ancestor, confounded the cheats, who afterwards were in jeopardy to the point that today their stock is very close to extinction.

695 This testimony from the a. Lh'sen curiously mixes naïve ex-
571 pression with reinterpretation. In any case, something else proves that the oath hides its virtue somewhere other than in its veracity. It is the fact that it is administered to a group determined in advance rather than to a person who has a resemblance to a witness of reality. The coswearers are invited to attest to things that they manifestly cannot know, that they have not seen, that they are reputed not to have been able to see. It is purely and simply their balance /Fr. appoint, money paying off an account, balance, change, odd money completing a sum/ that is required, and
[602] nothing else. This balance is identified with that of the group. It is the group itself, namely, in our region and today, the group

/331 cont./

695 of kin according to the order of decreasing agnatic closeness.
571 And even though it is the adversary who, as in certain cases, has
[602] the choice of the coswearers to be supplied and who are then called mord'iyin, it is invariably these close ones that he designates: the very same ones who in fiqh would be challenged by
[171] him. Certainly, /332/ Seksawa law offers here less richness, less variety than other Maghrebi systems of law, where the structure of the group calls for, beyond the kinship factor, a consensual factor (1).

1. De Leyris points out, "Guide pratique de justice coutumière en ait Souab /A Practical guide to customary justice in ait Souab/," in CHEAM, the tulit, which would be a quinquagenarian group of people reciprocally owing one another assistance by oath, p. 9. The coswearer who disappears can be compelled to comply by 5 oaths of the party concerned. One feels here a great richness in the nuances of the obligation of solidarity. See the interesting case of the "sacramental isolated one," ag^{w}mmam. In ait Mgild of Azrou, the foreigner can assign coswearers himself by a sacrifice (Coudino, "Le serment en a. M. /The oath in ait Mgild/," in CHEAM, p. 13). It would be proper to point out here in the opposite sense, as a simultaneous advance of individualism and of "lumières" /lights, luminaries, enlightenments/, the case of the ag^{w}mmam, who solemnly exempts himself from any participation in a cojuratio. Cf. the interesting study by A. Adam, "Remarques sur les modalités du serment collectif dans l'Anti-Atlas occidental /Remarks on the modalities of the collective oath in the western Anti-Atlas/," Hesp., 1948, pp. 299 sq.

178 /36 cont./
173 Khaldoun, scholarly genealogies to explain the relations of the
619 tribes among themselves; there exists only the belief, rather
*631 vague, to be sure, in the blood brotherhood of all the members
*634 of the small cantons among which are found the formerly more
829 coherent ethnic masses now divided into fractions. Again we
shall see how the constant bringing of foreign elements inside the
177 frontiers of the autonomous mountain States ceaselessly alters
602 even more the primitive idea of kinship, which tends to disap-
829 pear to make way for the solidarity of families united in the possession of the same valley.

161 VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- Henceforth settled on the soil, the population of the Sous is concentrated, /37/ according to the regions, in towns, in large villages, in scattered hamlets.

000 In truth, the towns, Marrakech, Mogador, Taroudant, although peopled in the majority by Berbères /Berbers/, have remained foreign organisms in spite of the importance of the political and economic ties that unite them to the tribes of the vicinity.

Marrakech /Marrakesh/, the largest town in Morocco, whose population in our time reaches 150,000 inhabitants, is doubtless a powerful urban center that exerts its attraction on the tribes farthest from the Sous. But this town, founded by the Almoravides on a site chosen by them far from the Atlas in order to escape the attacks of the Masmouda, has remained, in spite of the efforts of the Almohade and Saadian dynasties, a simple residence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and a permanent big market. The numerous families originally from the South who are settled there work at only humble trades and submit to the laws of this Mussulman city without ever having tried to modify them according to the peculiar genius of Berbèrie /Barbary/.

632 Mogador, constructed in the eighteenth century to serve as
[504] port for the tribes of the South, neighboring the Atlantic, under
[643] the permanent control of the Sultan, is a still more artificial
[162] creation. The Chleuhs /Shluh/ who inhabit it, whose commercial

/307 cont./

175 benefactor. He conquers two villages of his "taqbilt" and even
159 builds a house in one of them. But his adversaries use against
*634 him means that he does not hesitate to use himself. One day, he
926 fortunately escapes death in the explosion of an enormous charge of powder deposited under the upper chamber of the house /308/ where he is to be found with his family. This attempt is the work of a notable of the country, secretly allied with the Chtittihi and bribed by the Mtouggi.

175 Si Mokhtar constitutes for himself from then on a dependable
159 guard furnished by families allied to his; to avoid ambushes, he
*634 moves around ceaselessly, without ever saying where he is going. In
625 his casbah of Bou Taradin, he inspects the sentinels at all hours. He
602 changes his living habits ceaselessly, and his wives themselves do not know in advance in which of his houses he will come to sleep. He no longer lives anywhere but on the second floor, and the lower room is filled with stone and earth and closed with a padlock (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle, Hespéris, 1928, 3rd-4th quarter.

175 Amidst this feverish life dominated by fear of betrayal, the
159 amghar keeps an unappeased ambition nonetheless. Thanks to the
*634 incessant dissensions in the leff of the "Indghertit" of the asif of
616 the Seksawa, Si Mokhtar intervenes more and more as arbitrator,
578 relying on the "Imsifern," who are loyal to him. The troubled circumstances in the mountains favor his projects. The political situation becomes very complicated in the Atlas at this time, because of the struggle of the kaid Mtouggi against Si Tayeb Gontafi, who has conquered the valleys of the Ogdemt, of the Aghbar, and of the Asif el Mal (1904). During the rivalry of the two great kaids, who are trying to get support in the high mountains among the independent fractions, the leffs are sometimes broken up. But most often the chief of Tagontaft relies on the "Indghertit," while the Mtouggi prefers to seek the co-operation of the "Imsifern." Thus the Chtittihi becomes the ally of the Gontafi, Si Mokhtar that of the Mtouggi.

175 /343 cont./
*631 crushing power of the new domination (1).
712

1. Casbah of Taliwin of the Souktana.

*631 VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- For the admin-
*634 istration of the conquered tribes, the independent amghar depends
•602 at the beginning on the notables and the members of the jema'a
613 of the small canton of which his father was formerly the chief. It is within these "ikhs," faithfully attached to his family from the beginning, that he chooses most especially the functionaries of the little state that he has created. He has found among them first of all the expedition leaders and the loyal mokhaznis, charged with forcibly keeping the conquered villages in submis-
*631 sion. When his power is confirmed by the Sultan, he soon tries
*634 to find among these earliest companions a cadi who will be able
693 to render justice favorable to the interests of the new government.
[648] This scholar, who at the same time will be the /344/ kaid's secre-
[671] tary, will most often prove to be the resolute enemy of the Berbère /Berber/ customary law, whose roots go down into a danger-ous past of democratic institutions. He will settle most of the disputes according to his master's instructions, and the infallible justice of the holy book will serve to legitimize in all circumstances the decisions of the temporal leader. Sometimes, too,
*631 according to the rank of the plaintiffs or the personal interest that
*634 the kaid takes in the settling of affairs, justice will be rendered,
[692] without any formality, by the makhzen /makhzan/ leader himself, seated on the threshold of his house. To free himself from all the petty affairs that give no profit, the kaid will choose a caliphate and a "mchaouri" /see "mechaouri," p. 440/, a kind of close advisor, information agent, and intermediary, charged besides with the command of his personal guard.

*631 The casbah, which has become a caravansary, fortress, store-
712 house, and castle at the same time, is administered by an "amin,"
*634 who is both major-domo and keeper of the provisions. The in-
[574] numerable guests who crowd together in the courtyard and stay sometimes for a long time while waiting for an audience with the

557
*634 /346 cont./
*63 families who have entered the service of the new power will keep
616 their exemptions and maintain some ease in the general poverty.
652 In other commands, among the Mtougga, for example, the
178 notables of the kaid's tribe utilized in the administration and the
184 government of the conquered regions often get the title of amghar
*631 in their own village. They command only members of their
*634 family, but thanks to their rank as amghar they avoid, for the
557 extraordinary contributions, being subject to the ruinous agency
554 of the caliphates and mokhaznis and deal directly with the great
chief. Among the Glawa, certain cantons remain privileged be-
184 cause they still furnish in great number minor chiefs and contin-
*631 gents in charge of keeping the distant tribes under the yoke.
*634 These missions abroad are rather profitable besides, and one thus
662 sees poor valleys, like that of the Ouneila, associated from the
first with the fortune of the master of Telwet, adorned with hand-
some dwellings. Their inhabitants have become rich in the serv-
ice of the lord and they have followed his example from afar by
building houses adorned with towers.

*631 While the domains increase, other residences also are seen to
*634 rise around the house of the chief. They are those of his brothers
661 and relatives who have participated with him in the conquest of
.602 the tribes for some years. Tagontaft, Talat n Yaqoub in the Asif
Nefis, Bou Taradin in the small state of Mokhtar Seksawi, Boua-
boud of the Mtougga, the little basin of Telwet uniformly present
to us the same spectacle of the colonization of the best lands by
the chief's relatives, who also have become beneficiaries of the
corvées and lenders of money to the poor people.

*631 Finally, under the protection of the casbah, a small mellah
*634 /ghetto/ is established; Jews facilitate trade and conclude with
43 the Mussulmans /347/ all the bargains that the kaid could not
443 negotiate directly without blushing. By control of the important
563 souks /sooks/ at the foot of the mountains, the creation of large
[543] annual fairs, such as the "mousem of Taouloukoult" of the
[655] Mtougga, the economic life itself is governed by the mountain
chief, who takes possession little by little of all the country's
resources to the point that he will soon come to rent out the mo-
nopoly of the sale of commodities to friends or Jewish associates.

/383 cont./

*631 expense of the nearby regions, still half-rebellious toward domi-
648 nation by the Makhzen /makhzan/, the new political state brings only an accumulation of misery and the development of intolerable abuses for the country.

*631 In the eyes of the subject Berbère /Berber/ it is the kaid him-
648 self who appears as the principal agent of his misfortune. People
829 in the country try in vain at the beginning to limit the injustices
619 that he can commit. When a tribe, after having succeeded in
661 living in anarchy for several years, finds itself weary of the confusion and yields to the clever pressure exerted by the Makhzen on the notables and sheiks, it most often designates as spokesman, and as eventual kaid, a man chosen because he is modest and believed to be without ambition. Thus they hope to be able to oppose more /384/ easily the activity of a chief who can henceforth become, if he likes, an absolute master. But the new kaid, his brothers, or his sons very quickly break away from every rule; it is the same for the sheiks who in the beginning do not dare decide anything without consulting the notables and soon stop assembling them; they obey in all circumstances, they say to excuse themselves, the kaid's formal orders. The more advanced the trans-
*631 formation of the country is, prepared by the action of the amghars
648 for centuries, the more the authority of the makhzen chiefs is
661 made absolute and is easily freed from all control.

*631 The only ones who to a certain degree escape the exactions
*634 of the kaids and amghars are those who are attached to them by
•602 ties of kinship or the recollection of former alliances. So in the
661 tribes one often sees rich and powerful villages whose prosperity contrasts with the ruin of other hamlets almost deserted. The former are those of the chief's "brothers," the latter are those of enemy or rival families.

*631 The misfortune is still greater when the kaid is an outsider to
661 the tribe; all are then "eaten" without distinction as to origin,
602 while around the casbah prosper the relatives and servants of the master, who sometimes even have their riches taken out of the territory in order to send them to their own tribe.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

A. BASIC TRADITIONAL UNITS OF ORGANIZATION

611 602

The fundamental units of rural social organization are based, first of all, upon blood relationship in the male line and descent from a common ancestor, and, second, upon geographical proximity. Seven distinct types of units commonly occur, and some groups have as many as nine (see Tables II, III, and IV).

1. *Berbers*

a. *Nuclear Family*

594 [192]

The simplest social unit of Berber society is the nuclear family, established by a monogamous union, and consisting of a husband and wife, and their unmarried children. This unit is known as a *taka*, *takat*, or *kanoun* (Arabic) (all forms meaning "hearth") among the Shluh (Berque, 1955, pp. 37-38; Doutte, 1905), as a *kanoun* among the Beraber, and probably also among the Zenata (Querleux, 1915, p. 21; the native terms here have not been found); and as a *nubth* (pl., *nubath*) or "turn" among the Riffians (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143). This unit is of only minor importance, its main function as a unit resting only in the annual payment of the *tertib* (tax), this being usually collected from each *hauma* or "barrio" of the village on the basis of payments by each biological family (Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143). [651]

b. *Patrilineal Extended Family*

596

The importance of the nuclear family is overshaded by that of the second social unit in Berber society – the patrilineal extended family. This unit is made up of a number of nuclear families whose heads are united by descent from a common ancestor no more than three or four generations removed, whose name it carries. If this common ancestor is still living he heads the extended family and represents it on social and public occasions; if not his place is taken by his eldest brother. If this brother dies the extended family splits up into units under each of the other brothers. Thus, the extended family usually consists of a man and his wife, their married sons

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 47]